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BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

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INDEX OF HITTITE NAMES. Sec. A., Geographical. Pt. I . . . . . *Special Supplement*

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INTRODUCTION. Our third Bulletin is devoted chiefly to the results of studies carried out during the Winter months. Mr. Phythian-Adams, Assistant-Director, by comparing pre-existing data with the new evidence derived from the excavations conducted by him for the Palestine Exploration Fund at Ascalon (the reports of which have been duly published in the Quarterly Statements), has developed his views as to the origins and relations of the Philistines, following up the line of thought indicated in his first paper 'Hittite and Trojan Allies' to which this contribution forms a natural sequel. He now indicates a series of successive migrations of Indo-European tribes emanating from the Balkan area, affecting most nearly the Aegean world, but leaving traces, along the line of communication by sea, in Rhodes, Crete and Caria, until in the age of Rameses III the Philistines appear upon the threshold of Egypt. The theory which he propounds seems to reconcile and explain the literary and material evidence which he has examined, and it cannot fail to prove of special interest to those who have followed the trend of recent investigations.

Jerash. We publish, without technical comment, the drawings prepared by Mr. Ernest Richmond, F.R.I.B.A., from our field notes on the Southern temple at Jerash. This fine monument of the Imperial Age seems to have escaped the attention it deserves : we have searched all the publications available in Jerusalem without finding an adequate plan and elevation. The temple is oriented about 23° N. of E., so that it faced towards the rising sun at midsummer. Perched on a knoll overlooking the Forum and the main approaches to the City from the South, it must have been a conspicuous feature of the landscape. It presents many features of interest and beauty, noticeably the deep carving and full treatment of the frieze and mouldings of which we publish also some photographs. After the Syrian fashion, a great stairway led up from the causeway to the portico, but without excavation it is not possible to represent this faithfully in the plan. There is doubt also as to the detail of the stairs giving access to the roof on the left of the main doorway, and of the chamber opposite, the whole being very ruinous. In its main features, however, the plan can be traced with some degree of certainty. We share Mr. Richmond's hopes that his present 'Conjectural Plan and Elevation' will attract some archaeologist trained in classical architecture to make a detailed study of this and other monuments of the site.

Students. Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald has devoted his Winter to Semitic languages ; and in this connection the Director would like to express the special gratitude of the British School to their French colleagues of the Ecole Biblique, who have extended to Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Turville Petre the full facilities of their institution and courses of instruction.

Mr. D. Stiven has also been untiring in his studies. He commenced a course of regional archaeology in the late Autumn, and when Winter weather put an end to continuous field work he devoted himself to topography, as well as Hebrew and Arabic. By courtesy of the Director of the American School he has been able to accompany several of their tours, notably an excursion

to Transjordania. The notes which he has prepared on his personal observations in the passes between the Jordan Valley and the ridge of Samaria will be utilized in connection with an archaeological survey of the Valley of which we hope to publish an account. He has extended his stay so as to take part in the season's field work.

Mr. F. Turville Petre, who joined the School temporarily, earlier than was contemplated, has been assiduous in his exploration among the remains of the Stone Age and other early monuments of Galilee. The note from his pen which we print, though but an *aperçu*, seems to have a permanent value, and will, we expect, appeal to other students of prehistoric antiquity to join with him in this unexplored field.

Field Work. It had been our intention to open the Spring Season with preliminary soundings on Tell Keisan in the Plain of Acre and Tell El Bedeiwiyeh in Galilee, the importance of which was indicated in our second Bulletin. The late harvest, however, prevented this, so we began with an examination of the site of Dora, at Tantura, and then fixed camp at Harbaj for a more extensive excavation of the Tell. Since the appearance of the last Bulletin, as stated in the Annual Report, Mr. Fitzgerald and the Baron Edmund de Rothschild have placed at the Director's disposal the funds for carrying on these important investigations, the first results of which are outlined under Notes and News, reserving the detailed description for the next Bulletin.

Supplement. The remarkable expansion of Hittite studies and their increasing interest for Palestine leads to a first contribution from our School to the common effort which is being made to interpret the new Hittite archives. In connection with the records-scheme of the School, the Director has been at work personally for a year or more on the geography of the Hittite Empire, and by request of interested scholars has decided to publish his index of geographical names. To this end he has invited the collaboration of Dr. L. A. Mayer, Inspector in the Department of Antiquities, who has devoted all his spare time to editing this register, and the result is a tribute to his industry and scholarship. He has in fact to a great extent personally copied and checked the published, and a considerable proportion of unpublished, readings. This combined work is printed as a supplementary paper in a form which it is hoped will be found permanently useful for ready reference.

PHILISTINE ORIGINS IN THE LIGHT OF PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

With Plate I

The origin of the Philistines is one of the most vexed questions in Palestinian History and a complete solution of it is not yet in sight. Nevertheless the results of recent excavations at Ascalon (conducted by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem for the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1920 and 1921) have in one respect proved so striking that we are led to reconsider the whole problem in the light of the new evidence which they have provided.[1]

This evidence may be summarised thus,—At a point roughly six metres below the present surface of the Tell, a thick and continuous line of ashes was found to be the dividing line between two easily distinguishable cultures. The lower of these was that which we now associate with the Mycenean Age (Late Minoan III or Late Helladic III) of the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland: it is characterised not only by the Mycenean wares with their lustrous paint and curvilinear designs but to a much more marked degree by several well-known types of vase which are usually and perhaps correctly regarded as being of Cypriotic origin, the 'Base-ring' flagons and bilbil, the metallic-sounding funnel-shaped bowls with *cyma* section and the white-slip bowls with wish-bone handle. All these vases are found in Cyprus in association with the Mycenean wares and can be dated with certainty to the end of the Bronze Age (c. 1400—c. 1200 B.C.). In Egypt they are contemporary with the Tell Amarna period (c. 1370 B.C.) and it will probably be found that their duration in that country does not go below 1100 B.C. In other words the beginning of the Early Iron Age saw their final disappearance over the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean. We need not trace these wares further afield, though their distribution was a very wide one; it may be sufficient to say that no evidence has yet been discovered which disproves the dates to which we have assigned them. These Cypriotic and Mycenean vases mark the end of a definite stage of civilisation in our area. With the ceramic types which succeeded them in Greece and the Aegean, and the causes which brought about their introduction into those places, we shall have to deal later; at the moment our concern is primarily with the upper stratum at Ascalon.

In this stratum, which was about two metres thick, the Cypriotic and Mycenean vases abruptly vanished, for the few fragments of them found in this layer may be attributed to disturbance of earth and the difficulty of effecting a perfectly clean horizontal section. Their place was taken by large quantities of small bowls or cups with a tilted horizontal loop-handle (French 'oblique' handle) and by larger bowls (*craters*) of the same type. All of these are made of the local reddish-buff clay; some of them are coated with a thin greenish-white wash on which the decoration is painted in lustreless red and black; more usually, however, the paint is laid upon the untreated surface of the pot. The commonest forms of motif are the spiral (usually in black with a red centre), the checker-board (in red and black), the swanlike bird, and the four spoked wheel or cross (alternate red and black). The execution shows only mediocre talent. (Cf. Pl. I).

The importance of the new culture lies in the fact that neither the vase shape itself nor any of these designs is to be found in Palestine before the Early Iron Age. Their sudden appearance shows them to have been introduced from without, but, while the true Cypriotic-Mycenean wares of the preceding epoch can be proved by their paint to be foreign imports, easily distinguishable from the crude local imitation which accompanied them, no such distinction exists among the vases which we are now considering. All of these, as we have said, are of purely local manufacture nor is there any trace of any imported vase-model from which they might have been copied by the native Palestinians. We may infer, then, that they owe their presence to the arrival of foreign invaders and that these invaders became permanent settlers in the Maritime Plain.

If we are asked who these intruders were, we can surely answer that they must be the Philistines, who can be shewn both by Biblical and Egyptian evidence to have entered the country at this date and to have occupied those very parts of it in which we find these sherds—viz., the Philistine Plain, with parts of the Negeb and Shephelah. It will be useful, therefore, before we proceed to archaeological data, to summarise this evidence and discover how far it contains indications of Philistine origins.

1. The Bible references to the Casluhim and Caphtorim and their relations with the Philistines need not detain us. They might be serviceable as clues if we knew who these people were and whence they came, but so long as the equation Caphtor = Keftiu remains unproved any argument based upon it must be merely speculative. We propose, then, to set these passages on one side and turn our attention rather to the facts given us by the Old Testament.

We learn from passages too familiar to require examination in detail, (*a*) that the Philistines were uncircumcised, and hence that they were non-Semitic foreigners; (*b*) that, notwithstanding this fact, their religion (when we first hear about it) was of the normal Semitic type. Their chief god was Dagon, a very ancient Semitic deity; one of their principal goddesses was Derketo, a Canaanite variety of the old North Syrian Atargatis; finally, Astarte whom they also seem to have worshipped is, it need scarcely be said, the Semitic goddess *par excellence*. It is, perhaps, not too rash to infer from this curious paradox that the original band of Philistines entered the country in comparatively small numbers, that they intermarried with the Canaanites and Amorites, and that their children were thus naturally taught by their mothers both the language and the religion of the land. (*c*) Notwithstanding this last conclusion, the Philistine Polity was essentially non-Semitic. It took the peculiar form of a Pentapolis or group of five independent cities, each being governed by its own overlord (Seren), and owing no allegiance to the rest, yet so closely bound together as to be ready at all times to join forces for common aggression or defence. No such mixture of independence and cohesion is to be traced in the confederacies of the Canaanites of Esdraelon or of the Amorites of the Shephelah.

Coming down to greater detail we find (*d*) that the Philistine armour bears a noticeable resemblance to that worn by the Achaean heroes of the Iliad. Here we must necessarily cite the one case known to us, that of Goliath (I Sam. 17, 5-7). We learn that he wore a helmet, a scale-breastplate, and greaves, all of brass (bronze), and that he carried an enormous spear with an iron head, a javelin (of bronze) slung between his shoulders, and a sword. His shield was borne in front of him, but this last detail may not have been the normal Philistine custom since the attitude of the champion was one of utter contempt for the weapons and courage of the Israelites. In any case, the armour here described is almost exactly that of a Homeric warrior in the Iliad, and the curious detail of the javelin suspended between the shoulders is paralleled by the Achaean custom of slinging the sword in this position. (Iliad II, 45 al.)

(*e*) From the foregoing passage we may draw the further inference that the stage of culture reached at this date by the Philistines was that which marked the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age. In Late Bronze Age sites—as, e.g., in Cyprus—where iron is found at all, it is treated as specially valuable and never used for swords or spears.[2] The armour and weapons of Goliath show a slight advance on this stage and may be compared usefully with the arrow heads

and other metal objects found at Ain Shems in Tomb 1.[3] Here—in contrast with Tomb 8, which is purely Israelite and belongs to the full Iron Age—bronze predominates in both weapons and ornaments but a few of the arrow heads are made of iron.

Summarising these notices of the Old Testament we gain the impression that the Philistines were an invading band of non-Semitic origin, who, coming in small numbers, were rapidly absorbed by the native population although for several centuries they preserved their political individuality and their original form of government. Their armour suggests, further, that they had had some connection with the proto-Hellenic or Homeric culture and this indication, slight as it is, points to their having once come from the West or North-West.

2. These conclusions are greatly strengthened by the Egyptian Records, if we admit the now commonly accepted equation, Pelishtim = Peleset (P-r-s-t-w). From the reliefs of Rameses III we learn :—(*a*) the Philistines (like the other ' peoples of the isles ') were probably uncircumcised ; (*b*) their armour consisted of a feathered helmet, and a breastplate formed of metal (?) bands, and that they carried two spears, a sword, and a round shield ; (*c*) their faces were clean shaven and of a wholly non-Semitic cast ; (*d*) they attacked not only by sea but also by land, in the latter case bringing some of their women and possibly children with them in ox-carts under a special guard.

From these initial considerations we should infer that they were a non-Semitic people who were not undertaking a mere marauding expedition but were ' on trek ' from some northern region. The correspondence between the Egyptian and Biblical data is certainly not perfect, but in view of differences in date and if we allow for some mental confusion on the part of the recorders, such variations as there are cannot discount the remarkable similarity between the Biblical and Egyptian names.

(*e*) In the eighth year of Rameses' reign (1190 B.C.) the ' Northerners in their islands were disturbed ' and as a result the Hittite Empire, together with all North Syria as far as Arvad and Amor, was plunged in chaos, while Egypt was exposed to the attack of a confederacy of sea-peoples, the ' main support ' of whom were the Peleset, Zakkara (or Thekel), Shekelesh, Denyen (Denyew ?), Weshesh and Sherden. Some, at least, of these peoples were already settled in Syria, for the records state that after defeat, they were ' hung up in their towns ' ; and that their ' gardens were desolated ' ; moreover they are actually described in one passage as countries *in rebellion* against Egypt.[4]

But this invasion of the sea-peoples of the North does not stand alone ; in fact, if we are to take a broad view of the political situation in the Eastern Mediterranean at this date, we cannot divorce their activities in the twelfth century from the very similar appearances made by Northerners in the reigns of Merneptah and his predecessor Rameses II. In Merneptah's reign (1225-1215 B.C.) a confederacy of these sea-rovers joined hands with the Libyans in an attack upon the Delta.[5] Their names are given as the Ekwesh, Teresh, Luka, Sherden and Shekelesh and it will not escape our notice that the last two of these ' tribes ' took part in the later enterprise which included the Zakkara and the Philistines. Passing over this point for the moment, we may go still further back in history and consider the names of certain non-Hittite allies who fought for the Hittites against Rameses II (1280 B.C.).[6] Here we find the Luka, Sherden, Derden, Mesa, Mawuna (Yaruna ?), Pedes, and Kelekesh, and here once more we note an overlapping of names with the Merneptah expedition (Luka and Sherden) which suggests that the peoples engaged in all three enterprises were bound together by some common tie either of kinship or of geographical contiguity. There are cogent reasons to believe that the former of these suppositions is the correct one. It would appear that the Hittite allies against Rameses II were all, or most of them, Balkan or Danubian peoples, who had crossed from Europe into the Troad and had either gradually worked their way thence round the coast of Asia Minor or were enrolled on the spot as mercenaries under the banner of the Great King of the Kheta. Certainly their names bear a very remarkable resemblance to Troadic or West Anatolian place-names and peoples mentioned in the Iliad as combined against the army of Agamemnon (Lycians, Dardanians, Mysians, Maeonians (?), Cilicians).[7]

That the relations between the Lycians and Trojans on the one side and the Achaeans of the Greek mainland on the other were close, and in the case of the Lycians almost intimate, seems to be proved by their common worship of Zeus, Athene and Apollo no less than by the exchange of greetings and armour between Glaucus and Diomede recounted in the sixth book of the Iliad (Il. VI, 153 ff.). It is therefore of special interest for our present purpose to find the Ekwesh, who are now usually identified with the Achaeans, actually appearing in company with the Lycians some thirty years before the migration of the Philistines and their allies. It can hardly be doubted that similar relations once existed between the remaining members of these confederacies, whose

movements, following like waves the one upon the other, seem to indicate a slow but irresistible infiltration of European tribes from the Balkan, and perhaps also the Danubian, provinces into the circle of Minoan or 'Minoized' peoples who had prospered so long undisturbed in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the more favoured parts of the Aegean sea-board.

We may now briefly review the indications given us by the Egyptian records. They agree with the Biblical evidence in shewing that the Philistines were foreign invaders but they take us still further by deriving these invaders from among the northern peoples of the sea, and they provide an explanation for the resemblance between the Philistine armour of the Old Testament and the Achaean panoply of the Iliad by thus bringing the Philistines into direct or indirect association with a large group of Balkan or Danubian peoples amongst whom were the Ekwesh or Achaeans themselves. At the same time it must be noted that the three references to these northern peoples occur at intervals of 60 and 30 years respectively and that there is nothing in the Egyptian evidence to determine the cultural or geographical relations in which the latest arrivals stood to their predecessors in history. Finally the presence of slow-moving ox-transport in the Philistine army and the fact that it apparently kept pace with the fleet suggests that the point of departure for this invasion of Egypt lay at no great distance from its frontiers. We may infer from this that the Philistines did not arrive in Palestine directly from their far-off northern homes but had been settled for some time previously in some half-way halting place in Northern Syria or Southern Asia Minor, and the survival of the feathered head-dress in Caria (Herodotus I, 171) tends to confirm this view even if we do not go to the extent of deriving the one from the other. It should be noted that if this hypothesis is corroborated by future explorations it will not provide us with an *original* home for the Philistines either in the Aegean or on the coasts of Asia Minor, since their culture, as we shall find, is no more Aegean or Anatolian than it is Semitic, but points decidedly to a proto-Hellenic source.

3. At this point documentary evidence fails us and we must have recourse to Archaeology. It must be stated at the outset that the data examined below are concerned almost exclusively with a single type of vase, the bowl fitted with a horizontal loop-handle which we have mentioned above. This bowl, however, is the chief surviving characteristic of the Philistine culture, for not only is it found on all Philistine sites at the level which corresponds with the Philistine invasion while it is conspicuous by its absence on all the sites so far excavated with which the Philistines had no historical connection, but it is shewn by the new evidence from Ascalon to have been by far the commonest type of drinking cup and mixing bowl of the period, or, in other words, the Philistine vase *par excellence*.

If this last assumption is granted—and it must be admitted frankly that if it is not, much of the subsequent argument must be held to fail—it becomes important to notice that vases of precisely the same shape begin to appear in the Mediterranean at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. and survived in Greece until the coming of the Black Figure style. The following table gives an indication of the dates and distribution of these bowls.[8] Selected Illustrations appear on Pl. I.

Circa 1300—1200 B.C. End of Late Bronze Age

(Late Minoan or Late Helladic III). Argolis (Mycenae, Tiryns, Heraeum), Corinth, Melos, Rhodes, Cyprus.

Circa 1200—1000 (?) B.C. Transition from Bronze to Iron Age

(L.M. III, b.). Crete (Kastri, Kouramenos, Mouliana), Philistia, Skyros, Macedonia.

From 1100 B.C. Early Iron Age (Geometric Styles).

Crete (Cnossos, Praesos, Tylissos), Boeotia (Rhitsona), Delphi, Argolis (Asine), Achaean Phthiotis (Halos), Magnesia (Theotokou), Thera, Aegina.

It will be seen from the above table that the bowl makes its earliest appearance in the Argolis, in the adjacent city of Corinth, and in a number of important islands which lie on the direct coasting route from Greece to Phoenicia and Egypt, while Crete, now in her last stage of degenerate Minoan culture, is left entirely on one side. This distribution points to influences from the Greek mainland and in fact the portrayal of human and animal figures which appear for the first time on this type of vase has long been recognised as due to the Achaean newcomers whom tradition brings into the Peloponnese at this date.[9] Other signs of its intrusive character are not wanting. At Corinth its appearance is markedly abrupt, as though a new influence had suddenly entered

the Peloponnese[10] and there are some indications that Melos experienced a similar, wholesale invasion.[11] Whether Rhodes or Cyprus received the new culture from the Achaeans or whether some other of the sea-roving peoples must be held responsible, is a question which cannot yet be answered, but it is certainly important to remember that the Luka (Lycians) were known in these waters as early as the reign of Ikhenaton,[12] that a king with the Indo-European name 'Alakshandu' is found in Ialysus (Rhodes) at the same date[13] and that the famous Lycian river, the Xanthus (Šianti) occurs also at this time in the Hittite texts.[14] These facts—especially the appearance of the Balkan name Alexander—suggest that by the beginning of the thirteenth Century not only the Achaeans but some or all of the other members of their confederacy were already harrying, or settling in, the southern sea-board of Asia Minor and the islands which lie along it.

The expedition against Merneptah was followed, as we have seen, by another and more serious attack thirty years later. The confederacy in this case included amongst others the Philistines (Peleset) the Weshesh and the Zakkara, and the Philistine evidence shews that its culture belonged to the transitional stage which bridges the gulf between the Bronze and Iron Ages. It can be hardly a coincidence therefore that the characteristic bowl appears at this very date not only in Philistia itself but also in Crete, where the place-names Axos (Ὄαξος, Ϝαξος) and Zakro have been attributed (quite independently of this evidence) to the Weshesh and Zakkara.[15]

It might perhaps be held that the Philistines and their allies took over the typical bowl from peoples who had previously introduced it into the Mediterranean, but there is a striking fact which seems to render such a view untenable. The practice of cremation, hitherto unknown in Crete, now appears there in association with the bowl, and one of the large craters of this type was actually used as the repository of the ashes.[16] That this association was not fortuitous, but based on tribal custom, is confirmed by the 'Geometric' burials at Halos in Achaean Phthiotis, which must be ascribed either to the degenerate Achaeans or to later invaders from the North.[17] Here the bowl was the commonest shape of vase in use: it occurred in burials of the earlier period when inhumation was practised; but its popularity seems to have reached its zenith when cremation was introduced, for large numbers of fragments were found in the funeral pyres of that date. Nothing is yet known of the burial customs of the Philistines, but it is perhaps significant that not a single Philistine vase has yet been found in an undisturbed tomb-deposit, while great quantities of typical fragments are to be picked up (as at Ain-Shems) all over the city-sites. Had the bowl stood by itself, it might reasonably be argued that the new-comers, who presumably arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean before the beginning of the twelfth century, adopted this vase-type and made it their own, although, even so, its popularity would seem strange for an article borrowed from strangers. But the introduction of a new burial practice *in close association with it* forbids us to accept this explanation; for, of all customs in the ancient world, the cult of the dead is perhaps the most immutable.

We must hold, then, that as the Achaeans and their allies brought this bowl with them before the close of the Bronze Age, so the Philistines and their companions brought it in the Transitional period which followed. In other words, we must assume that the vase in question was one designed (because found useful or necessary) by the inhabitants of the regions from which the sea-rovers and their kinsmen of the Troad originally came. But we have seen in the case of the latter that the evidence points very strongly to the Balkans as being the homeland in question, and since the whole group seems to have been bound together by the ties of a common religion, it is at least probable that the former will also be found there. Moreover, the fact that the bowl descends into late Geometric times, as at Rhitsóna in Boeotia, and that it then develops into the classical Scyphus, not only shows that it was a natural and not an exotic Hellenic type, but leads us in our search for its origins into the regions beyond the frontiers of Greece, since it was from these that the historical Hellenes descended to their new homes.

It happens, fortunately, that this statement can be tested in the case of a people who lie otherwise outside our line of enquiry. At some date between the Achaean and Dorian invasions a tribe called the Dryopes, moving probably from Aetolia, occupied the mountain mass of Tymphrestus from which the Dorians, pressing onwards by the same route, drove them first to Mount Oeta and then to Asine in the Argolis. The Dryopes, like the Dorians, were ardent worshippers of Apollo; and the occurrence of the typical bowl in a purely Geometric context at Delphi is aptly, if not certainly, explained by this fact; but its appearance at Asine in deposits which can only be assigned to the Dryopes is a far more significant piece of evidence, and affords a fresh indication of the regions from which it came and the wide popularity which it enjoyed amongst their inhabitants. Both Dorians and Dryopes, it may be added, had for their Polity the unusual system of a Tetrapolis or group of four independent but closely confederate cities, and it is tempting to compare with this the similar organisation of the Philistines. (Strabo VIII, 6, 13; IX, 5, 9, ff.).

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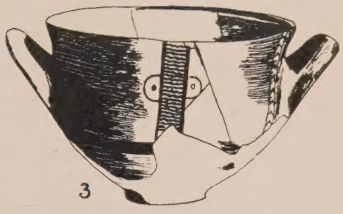
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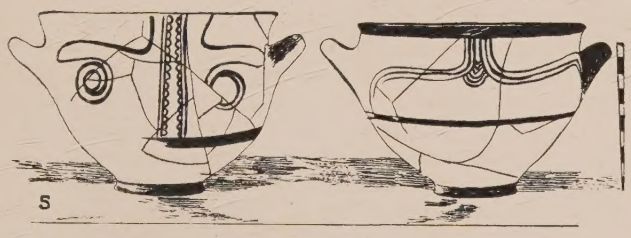
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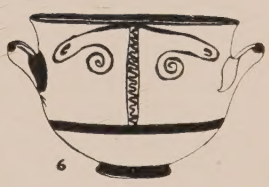
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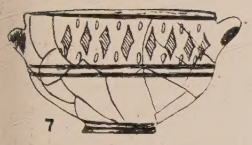
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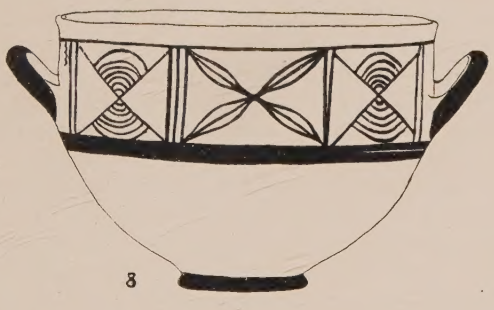
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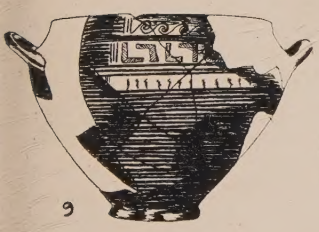
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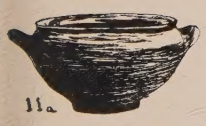
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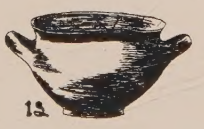
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THE PHILISTINE VASE AND ITS RELATIONS

1. Philistia
2. Philistia. Tell el Safi
3. Argive Heraeum
4. Tiryns
5. Corinth (Korakou)
6. Melos
7. Kastri (East Crete)
8. Kouramenos (East Crete)
9. Delphi
10. Asine (Argolis)
11. Theotokou (Magnesia)
12. Halos (Achaean Phthiotis—Tomb 6)
13. Halos (Achaean Phthiotis) Pyre IX
14. Rhitsóna (Boeotia)
15. Philistia
16. Argive Hereaeum
17. Tiryns

The evidence so far surveyed seems clearly to indicate that the bowl which we have been examining was originally the common possession of a group of peoples who, after residing together in the Upper Balkans, migrated or were driven from their homeland. The movement took two directions, to the East where the Dardanians colonised the Troad, and to the South where the Achaeans settled in the Peloponnese. It must therefore have taken place from some region which commanded passes in those two directions, or, in other words, some point North of the Shar Massif which would allow a dispersion of these people not only southwards through Epirus and Aetolia but eastwards down the valleys of the Vardar, the Struma and the Maritza. This point should lie North of the Uskub pass by which the second of these migrations may be conceived to have taken place, and it is surely not fortuitous that we find a 'Dardania' in classical times precisely at this spot, while on both sides of it the names Sard-ica and Sard-iotis recall yet another of the Peoples of the Sea.

But if this evidence shews that we are on the right track, we may logically go further. We have seen that only two of the Hittite allies recur in the later maritime expeditions against Egypt. The explanation probably is that the remainder were landsmen and not sailors, and the continental position of the old Dardania tends to confirm this view. But what then of the sea-rovers themselves? Obviously they must have been bred on some sea-board adjacent to Dardania and specially fitted by nature to produce a race of Vikings. One of these peoples, the Achaeans, came from the direction of Epirus; and once more it can scarcely be a coincidence that we find above this point the very coast which circumstances seem to demand, the long indented littoral of Dalmatia which was so long notorious as the home of the Illyrian pirates. Is it a mere coincidence that a tribe called the 'Pirustae' dwelt in Roman times near the lake of Scutari, and that this name agrees exactly with the Egyptian P-r-s-t-w? It survives to-day as Perasto on the Gulf of Cattaro.

Nor is archaeological evidence wholly lacking to confirm the tendency of these arguments, for at Glasinatz near Serajevo we find an Early Iron Age civilisation strongly reminiscent of Halos in its dual practice of cremation and inhumation and its custom of multiplying burials under a single tumulus. Moreover the Glasinatz warrior wore armour which was not only Homeric in its use of the helmet, shield, greaves and enormous spear, but approximated even more closely to the Philistine in employing a breastplate composed of separate studs or scales. Finally the Scyphus is one of the vase-types found on this site.[18]

It may be useful in conclusion to summarise the arguments advanced in this paper. All the available evidence shews that the Philistines were a non-Semitic race and certain details of their equipment suggest 'Achaean' or Proto-Hellenic affinities. We have to ask, then, whether it is impossible that the Philistines should have come from the Proto-Hellenic stock; and we find on enquiry that it is not only possible but even probable, since members of this stock had been sweeping the Eastern Mediterranean for something like a century before the Philistine invasion, and it is obvious that where one could go, another could follow. But here the matter becomes complicated by the fact that we cannot separate these earlier sea rovers from the kindred peoples who invaded Asia Minor at about the same date, and since these shew strong traces of a Balkan origin, it follows that the sea rovers must be traced back to the same regions.

But were the Philistines really akin to the Achaeans and their allies? As a practical test of this we can adduce the characteristic Philistine bowl, which should, if our hypothesis is correct, shew definite traces of a Proto-Hellenic origin. We find that it does so. It first appears in the Mediterranean area at a date and in circumstances which connect it with the Achaean invasion. It is found next in a more degenerate form in Crete and Philistia at a date and in circumstances which connect it with the later attacks on Egypt; it is then closely associated with the practice of cremation, a practice not Minoan but common to the Proto-Hellenic stock. Finally it survives in Greece as one of the classical vase-types; while in non-Greek countries, like Philistia, its exotic character is shewn by its rapid disappearance.

It is impossible to halt here. If the Achaeans brought this vase into Greece, they brought it from their old homes. The earliest Achaean home for which we have any evidence is Epirus; but since the Troadic and Helladic peoples were once occupying a common habitat, this habitat must lie further to the North in such a position as to allow of their dispersion by passes or waterways leading to East and South. We are thus brought to Serbia as a starting-point for the former migration and here we actually find the name of Dardania surviving into Roman times. For the latter a well-harboured sea-board seems essential, and we find it close at hand in the Eastern shore of the Adriatic which is 'replete with islands and ports bold of approach.'[19] Finally, on one

of the principal rivers of this region we discover traces of a Proto-Hellenic culture, some details of which remind us quite as much of the Philistine as of the Achaean civilisation.

It would be idle to pretend that the evidence adduced above provides a final solution of the Philistine problem. We can, however, at least say this, that its combined effect points so strongly in one direction that we may surely claim it as a working basis for future researches in this field.

W.J.P.-A.

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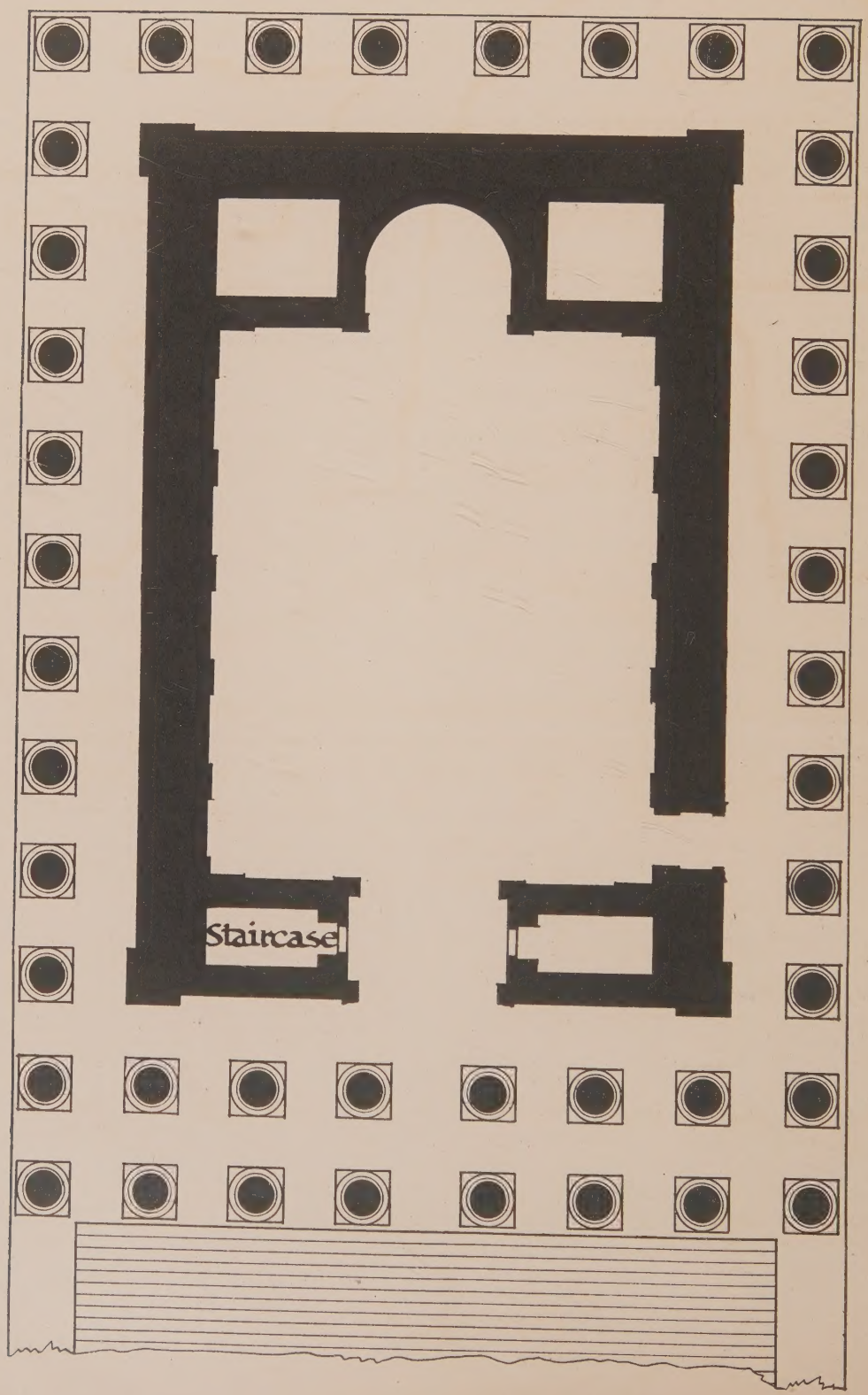
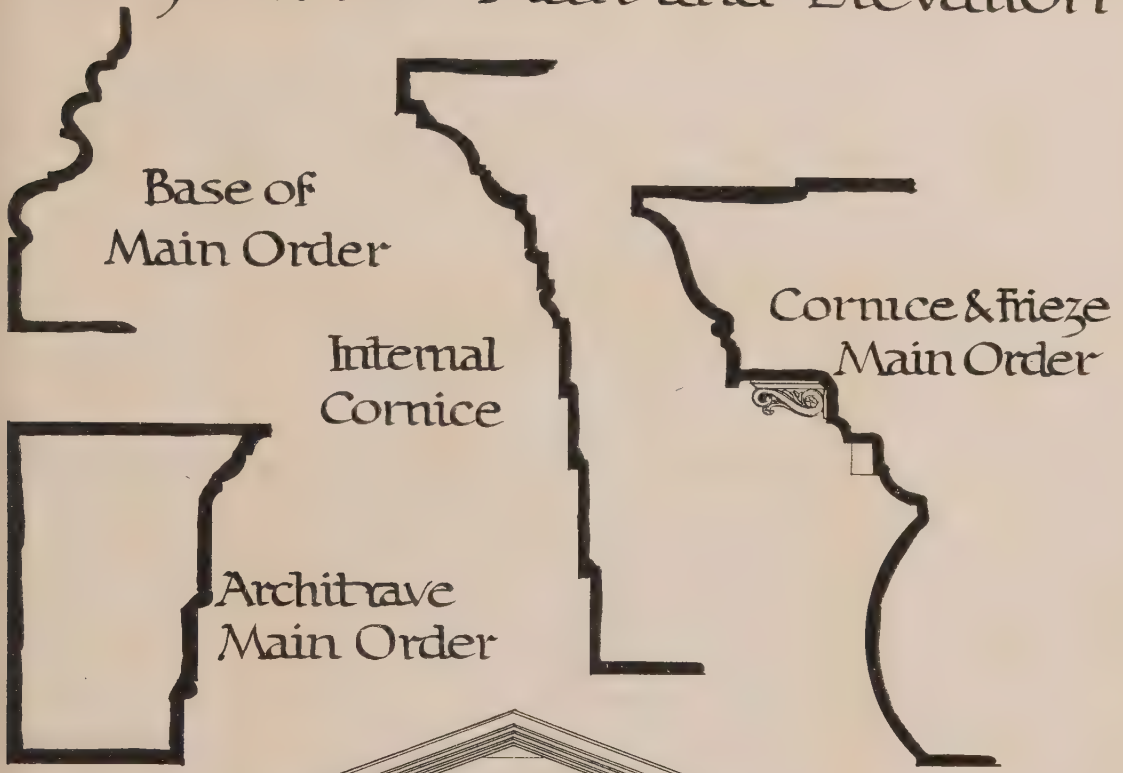
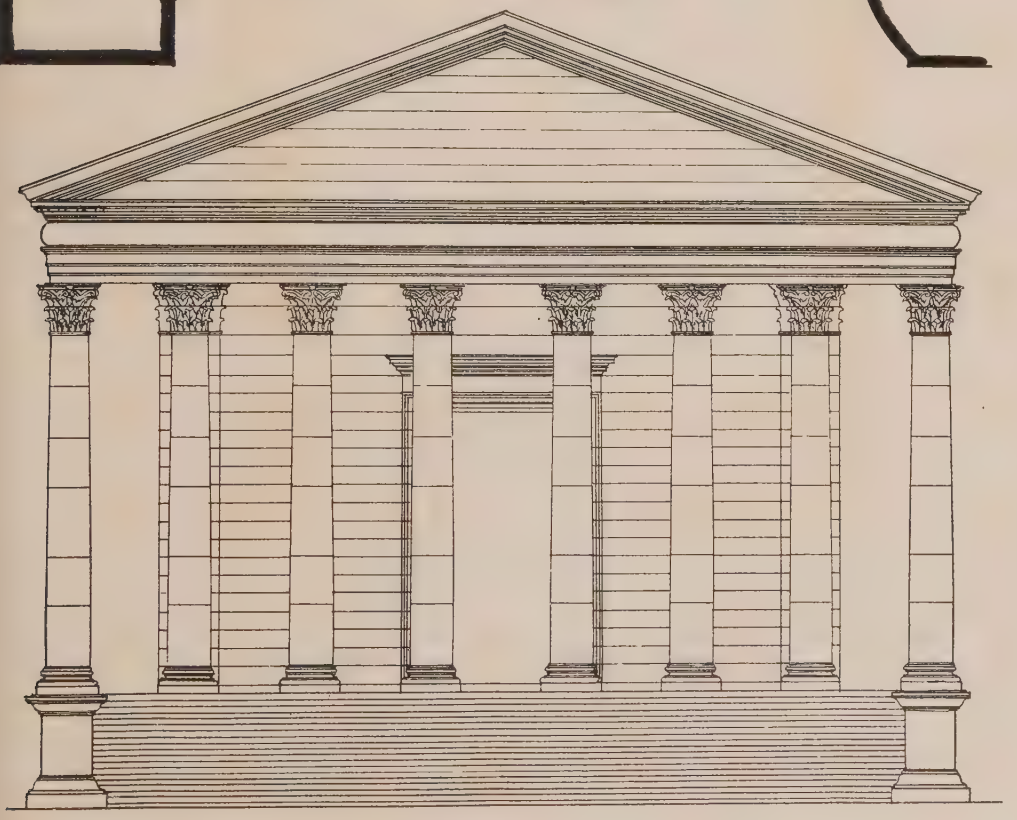
Jerash · Southern Temple ·

Scale · Metres 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17



Conjectural Plan and Elevation.

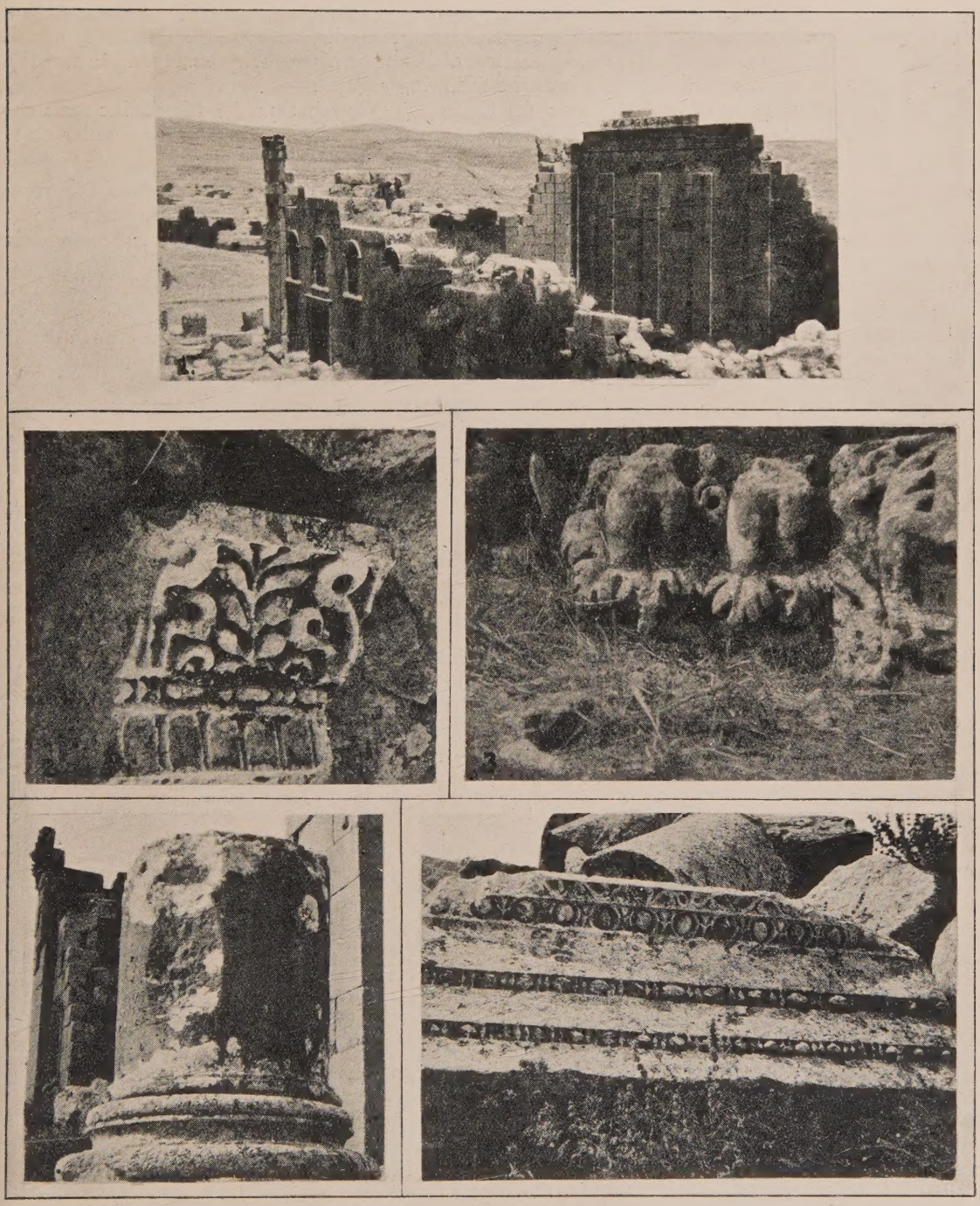




Elevation.

JERASH, SOUTHERN TEMPLE : GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

(Beyond, right, the Forum enclosed by Ionic Columns; left, the well-known hexastyle Temple)



JERASH, SOUTHERN TEMPLE

1. General view from the West
2. Detail of cornice
3. Fragment of frieze
4. Base of column
5. Mouldings of the architrave

PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS IN THE VICINITY OF ET TABGHAH, LAKE OF TIBERIAS

The importance of this region for the study of the pre-historic archaeology of Palestine was first pointed out by Professor Karge of Münster University, who surveyed the district from this point of view during the years 1910-11 and published his results in his work *Rephaim* (Padeborn, 1917). The remains in question fall naturally into the following groups :—

(1) Surface deposits of worked flints ; (2) Caves ; (3) Cup marks ; (4) Megalithic remains ; (5) Tells with early pottery. It will be most convenient to consider the remains under these headings and in this order.

1. Surface Deposits of Worked Flints. Along a stretch of the lake shore, some 100 yards long, immediately North of the et-Tabghah landing bridge, fragments of worked flints are to be found in considerable quantities ; their deep brown patination shows that they have long lain in the water, consequently they are all much water-rolled. The forms which occur are fragments of knives and chisels, borers, particularly the shouldered borer and occasionally sickle blades, two to three centimetres long, originally no doubt hafted in a curved handle (cf. *Rephaim*, p. 177). These implements are attributed by Karge to the late Neolithic period. A few paces north of the deposit just mentioned two typical Chellean *coups-de-poing* were found ; these are roughly made, and considerably water-rolled, and have a brown patination.

A few hundred yards south of the landing bridge, on the terraces of Ḥirbet-el-Oreime, a small hill which separates the plain of Et-Tabghah from the Plain of Genasereth, and also on the cultivated land round the spring of 'Ain Tine at the southern foot of Ḥirbet-el-Oreime implements similar to those on the lake shore are found, almost all very fragmentary (cf. *Rephaim*, p. 172). Similarly worked flints of the same type as the above occur sporadically over all the agricultural areas of the district.

2. Caves. Numerous natural caves occur in the hills of this region and it is at least probable that many of them were occupied by pre-historic man, though in most cases any early remains that may exist have been covered by later deposits. Working from South to North the following are the main cave groups of the region :—

(*a*) *Wadi Hamam.* On the right hand side of the Wadi, immediately above the point where it enters the Plain of Genasereth, is a complicated cave system known as the Kalat Ibn Ma'an. The natural caves have been artificially enlarged and strengthened by masonry (cf. *Rephaim*, p. 300). Occasional flint implements of a neolithic type are to be found on the slopes leading up to the caves, and among the stony floor deposits of some of the smaller and lower caves, which do not form part of the system of artificially fortified caves, attempts to imitate flint work in an unsuitable soft limestone have been found. Opposite the Kalat Ibn Ma'an, on the other side of the Wadi, another similar cave system with artificial enlargement occurs.

(*b*) *Wadi Amud.* (Cf. *Rephaim*, p. 294). A short distance beyond the point where the stream of the Wadi Amud enters the Plain of Genasereth there is, on the left hand side, a massive limestone bluff containing three rock shelters known locally as the Mugharet-el-Emire. These shelters measure respectively 8 × 5·70 metres, 5·70 × 3 metres, and 2·70 × 2·70 metres ; face approximately south-east, and are reached from the plain level by ascending a short but steep grass slope. At the foot of this slope, and again half way up, traces of a rough fortification wall can be seen. Out of the back of the central shelter a series of low natural galleries form, as it were, a tunnel into the rock. On the slope outside the caves Karge found worked flints similar to those from Et-Tabghah. On the floor of the small galleries, lying among stones and earthy deposit, flint implements, mainly rough flake knives and chisels, were to be found in large numbers, as also nuclei and hammer-stones. Immediately to the north-west of the entrance of the smallest cave is a well-worked cup mark, while two more are to be found on the summit of the bluff. Flint has been hammered out in very large quantities from the limestone rock round the cave.

Further up the Wadi Amud, on the same side as the Mugharet-el-Emire, is another cave, the Mugharet-ez-Zuttije. This is by far the largest single cave in the neighbourhood, measuring 13·50 metres broad by 28 metres deep and 20 metres high. One worked flint was found in a rock gallery opening from the back of the cave, and Karge found another outside the entrance, but since the cave has for centuries been used by the Beduin as a stable for goats and cattle, it is not possible except by excavation to ascertain whether the cave was ever occupied by a flint-using population.

Still further up the Wadi, on the opposite side, situated high above a natural column of

limestone which gives the Wadi its name, is the Mugharet-el-Amud. This consists of two rock shelters, one at a considerably higher level than the other, and can only be reached by traversing a steep and more or less smooth face of rock in which foothold places have been cut to facilitate ascent. In the upper of the two caves pottery is found, while on the slope below the cave roughly worked flint points and fragments of blades are numerous.

Still further up the Wadi, on the same side, are the Mugharer Sebabic, an artificially enlarged group of caves similar to those in the Wadi Hamam. Many smaller caves are also to be seen on the banks of this Wadi, some of which have apparently been used as flint quarries.

(*c*) *Wadi Yuheira.* On the left hand side of this waterless Wadi is a large cave in which Roman pottery has been found but no traces of earlier occupation have yet come to light. The Mugharet-el-Kur and the Mugharet-ed-Dlemi have also yielded no evidences of occupation in early times.

3. Cup Marks. These are very common all over the district ; from South to North the following may be noted. Outside the smallest of the three caves forming the Mugheret-el-Emire is, as has already been mentioned, a small regularly worked cup mark ; it has a diameter of 26 cm., but being filled with mud its depth could not be ascertained. On the summit of the rocks above this same Mugharet-el-Emire is an irregular cup mark, 40 × 36 cm. in diameter and 24 cm. deep, with a narrow cylindrical deepening of some 12 cm. in the bottom ; near by is another irregular cup mark of roughly elliptical shape.

Further up the Wadi Amud, on the summit of the hill which forms the left bank of the gorge, and almost opposite the Mugharet-es-Sebabic, is a series of very large cup marks, or perhaps they should rather be called cisterns. These consist in a line of four irregularly circular or elliptical excavations in the rock. The approximate measurements of these are : 1, 109 × 104 cm. ; 2, 54 × 54 cm. ; 3, 65 × 80 cm. ; 4, 67 × 108 cm. ; the depth varies from about 64 to 88 cm. The thin wall of rock between these hollows has been broken through so that the four form one complete cistern. A few paces to the East is another cup mark 52 × 59 cm. in diameter, and near by is a large roughly rectangular excavation.

There is a further cup mark on the hills between this point and the Wadi Yuheira which lies immediately to the North.

On the Jebal-ed-Dlemi above the Wadi Janus and the road to Safed, and a few paces below the Mugharet-ed-Dlemi, are two irregular cup marks showing the following dimensions :— 41 × 55 cm. in diameter and 15 cm. deep, 92 × 126 cm. in diameter and 48 cm. deep.

On the hill immediately north of the Italian Colony, and half-way between that point and Kerazeh, is a regularly worked cup mark 52 cm. in diameter and about 13 cm. deep.

4. Megalithic Remains. The megalithic sites of the district have been fairly fully described by Karge, so that all that is here necessary is to give a list of these sites with references to Karge's descriptions.

(1) *Kurun Hattin,* the summit of which hill, probably the crater of an extinct volcano, has been strongly fortified, presumably as a place of refuge. (*Rephaim*, p. 352).

In the plain south-east of Kurun Hattin, and connected with the latter by a walled road, are a small group of megalithic constructions known as el Kunkuzah. (*Rephaim*, p. 354).

(2) *Shegerat-el-Mubarakat.* On the northern slopes of the Jebal-ed-Dlemi, North of the Wadi Janus, an extensive group of megalithic remains are to be seen and would seem to mark the site of a megalithic village. The remains include a stone circle some 70 feet in diameter with a dolmenic entrance arch on its south side and numerous small circular groups of stones of varying dimensions, probably hut foundations. (*Rephaim*, p. 320).

On the hills immediately east of Kh. Kerazeh and between that hill and the Jordan Valley several hundreds of dolmen graves are to be found. The plan on which the majority of these are constructed would seem to be as follows :—A wedge-shaped chamber was formed by four large slabs of stone, which was then roofed over by an enormous capstone ; the whole construction was then probably covered by a tumulus of smaller stones. The dolmens are orientated East and West with the broader end of the chamber facing West. The dimensions of one of the smaller dolmens are as follows :—Lateral walls, 230 cm. Back (East) wall, 92 cm. Breadth of chamber at broadest point (West) where stone has been removed, 140 cm. Height from floor to under surface of capstone, 65 cm.

5. Tells with Early Pottery. The following Tells would seem to yield Early Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery :—

(*a*) *Tell-el-Oreime* on the summit of the hill of the same name where trial excavations have been made by Karge.

(*b*) *Tell-el-Mureibid,* also called Tell-el-Nasara, in the Plain of Genasereth between Khirbet Minia and the Wadi Amud, near the lake shore. F.T.-P.

NOTES AND NEWS: EXCAVATIONS AND RESEARCH

Tantura. The site of Dora lies just to the north of the modern seaside village of Tantura. The indications are a mound occupying an irregular promontory between two small bays, covering three to four acres of ground, and the remains of a stout sea-wall of Tyrian character. Two sectional trenches were cut in the north and south slopes of the mound respectively. The results suggest that the site was inhabited continuously from the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1400 B.C.) until the Arab Conquest, when, except for a fortified promontory at its south-west corner, it was completely abandoned. Its present name—El Burj—probably refers to this Arab or Crusaders' fortress.

Traces of occupation by the sea-roving Zakkara (or Thekel) of the Wen-Amon story have so far been inconsiderable, but there is enough evidence to suggest that occupants of the site during the Early Iron Age (B.C. 1200–B.C. 500) introduced a culture similar in many respects, but not identical with, that which we now ascribe to the Philistines.

The Hellenistic period seems, from our examination, to have been that of the city's greatest prosperity, and this is confirmed by the importance which Josephus assigns to Dora especially under the rule of the tyrant Zoilus (*c.* 100 B.C., *Ant.* XIII. 12.2, &c.). The sea-wall belongs to this age, and after tracing it for a distance we concluded that it had been surmounted by an esplanade supported by massive columns with Ionic capitals of simple design. A sea-gate was found with a flight of later steps leading down to the water level, suggesting an earlier feature of similar kind that remains to be uncovered.

El Harbaj. This season we initiated a systematic excavation of the north-west corner of the mound lying immediately above last year's sectional trench. The foothills to the east of the site were also explored and several tombs were discovered.

The first point of interest established was the discovery of traces of occupation during the Early Iron Age (B.C. 1200–500). This evidence was not furnished by our sections of last year—described in the second Bulletin—a fact which may be tentatively ascribed to the survival of the great wall of the Late Bronze Age, which at this point must have been still too high to permit the ejection of debris. Numerous decorated fragments of the Early Iron Age have now been brought to light, but it would be premature at this stage to discuss their origin and affinities. Other finds include terra-cotta plaques of Astarte, the head of a bull in the same; and a unique collection of Bronze-Age vases from one of the tombs referred to above. The terra-cottas were found in the fourth metre, representing, generally, the Earliest Iron Age. But the tomb group is earlier, and though fragments of original Mykenaen pottery were found in an inner chamber, it may date in fact to the Early or Middle phase of the Bronze Age (*c.* 1800 B.C.).

As a general indication of the history of the knoll it may be said that the first metre and a half of depth were due to Arab buildings and activities. Below that, to the bottom of the third metre was abundant trace of an important Hellenistic building of red brick on stone foundations, of date about 400 B.C. The fourth metre revealed two layers of buildings superposed, both of the Early Iron Age, the later of the eighth or ninth century B.C. and the earlier one, seemingly, of about 1100 B.C. Below these, in metres 5–7, were two levels of buildings dating from the Late Bronze Age. The upper one was built of large mud bricks, suggestive of Egyptian handiwork, though no Egyptian remains were found. Its date must be about 1300 B.C. It partly followed the lines of the lower one, which was, however, of stone, its date being the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, about 1400 B.C. Both buildings are connected structurally with the main outer wall discovered last year, as described in the second Bulletin. This outer wall was traced, right and left, to a distance of 14 metres, where it was found to be discontinuous; it is, however, of much more massive construction than the houses within, and the interruption requires explanation. All is ready now to excavate this most interesting series of buildings.

Beisan. Dr. Fisher has discovered an important series of buildings with stout brick walls, inside which, lying prone, were two monumental stelæ of Sety I and Rameses II respectively, as well as bundles of arrow heads and minor objects. The buildings seem to be attributable to Egyptian handiwork, and to have remained standing for several centuries, a fact which explains the abnormal stratification of the Tell at these levels. Roman buildings are now coming to light outside the area indicated, on the edge of the Tell.

Ez Zib and Shefa Amr. Government inspectors have recovered the contents of intact tombs from these two sites, providing a basis for the dating of Roman and Byzantine glass.

Trans-Jordania. The Emîr Abdallah has given orders for the registration and protection of historical monuments and for the creation of Museums at Amman and Jerash.

C. Tinling & Co., Ltd., Typo, Liverpool